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ABSTRACT

Reminiscences of reporters and press club histories painted the Chicago journalist, around the turn of the century, as part bohemian and part businessman. A study, in order to fashion a more realistic picture, recounted amd examined descriptive material available about Chicago journalists and then tested the material with census data collected about journalists in Chicago in 1900. It also used earlier collected data to compare some characteristics of Chicago journalists with characteristics of rural editors in 1900. To examine quantitative materials that would support or refute qualitative information, data about the demographic characteristics of Chicago journalists was compiled from the 1900 federal census manuscripts. Results showed that by 1900 staff division of journalistic labor was beginning to emerge. The analysis of census manuscripts for urban journalists in Chicago also indicated that (1) journalists were relatively young and less established in terms of family, children, and property when compared to their rural counterparts; (2) they were more likely to be women and Black than the rural journalist, but it was still an industry dominated by White males; and (3) they were more likely to be foreign born than were rural journalists and the United States population in general. (Two tables of data and 64 notes are included.) (MS)

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JOURNALISTS AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY: CHICAGO JOURNALISTS COMPARED TO THEIR RURAL COUNTERPARTS

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JOURNALISTS AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY: CHICAGO JOURNALISTS COMPARED TO THEIR RURAL COUNTERPARTS

Chicago in 1900 was a thriving financial center, providing a major link between the products of the west and the manufacturing centers of the east. The city's population was diverse and its newspaper industry thriving and competitive. Reminiscences of reporters and press club histories painted the Chicago journalist as part bohemian and part businessman, who earned a mere $25 a week for his labors directed toward understanding the complexity of urban life. Adding to the diversity of publishing in Chicago were the immigrant press and the women journalists who developed their own roles in Chicago journalism.

Newspaper histories and journalists' biographies have provided the bulk of information used to determine the nature of journalism at the turn of the century. Much of this information, while providing captivating stories, has not been validated by examination of demographic characteristics of reporters. Were Chicago reporters bohemian in nature? Were they usually single and male? Or has folklore created a legendary character depicted by the movie industry's Front Page stereotype? This study recounts descriptive material available about Chicago journalists and then tests that material with census data collected about journalists in Chicago in 1900. The study also uses earlier data gathered by two of the authors to compare some characteristics of Chicago journalists with characteristics of rural editors in 1900.

Chicago at the Turn of the Century

Chicago provides an interesting case study for urban journalists. By 1890 it was the second most populous city in the United States, with 1,099,850 residents. After a fire in 1871 destroyed Chicago's central business district and left an estimated 100,000 homeless, the city began to rebuild and expand rapidly with the influx of fresh capital and thousands of U.S. and foreign-born workers. A "free enterprise economy, unrestricted immigrant policy, and a series of revolutionary inventions in building, transportation and communications" enabled the city to prosper despite adversity.(1) Chicago's location as a "central nexus linking the manufacturing East with the agricultural West" was crucial to its survival and development.(2) Already a major port, with access to the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River, and a leading grain, livestock, lumber and financial center, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Chicago was fast becoming an important printing center.(3)

Newspapers in Chicago

In 1890, Chicago was still reaping the benefits of a newspaper boom which provided thirteen new or continuing English language dailies in each of the previous two decades.(4) Since Chicago's incorporation as a city in 1837 with 4,170 residents and two weekly newspapers, the Democrat and the American, it had grown steadily into a major journalism job market for nineteenth century America.(5) The Chicago press developed in a state known

for its proliferating country papers, and although the city was a mere military outpost when the first Illinois newspaper was published in 1814, by the time an Association of Publishers and Editors of the State of Illinois was organized in 1854, Chicago was able to send representatives from four of its dailies, including the German-language Illinois Staats-Zeitung.(6) At the end of the Civil War, Chicago journalism still showed vestiges of the frontier tradition with "hand-set general-interest dailies containing a bit of telegraph news, a few local stories, conventional columns of editorials, a large amount of miscellany rather difficult to classify as news, and some well-framed advertisements."(7)

As the Chicago press expanded at the end of the war, editors felt the pressure of competition from Northeastern dailies. When the Illinois Press Association was founded in 1865, few Chicago editors participated. Instead, they turned their attention to the urban centers of the East, and worked to establish a Western Associated press to counter what they claimed was a national news coverage monopoly exercised by the New York Associated Press.(8) During the next two decades Chicago newspapers proliferated. In 1881 alone, four new daily nameplates appeared, as well as a city news bureau (City Press), established to cover local news for subscriber organizations.(9) In all, the 1880 to 1890 decade produced nine new dailies.(10)

The activities of City Press in the 1890s indicated that staff divisions of labor were beginning to emerge. By 1890, City

Press faced competition from the newly created Chicago City Press Association, but a year later the two competitors merged to form City Press Association of Chicago to serve 15 clients, including three German-language dailies and the Western Associated Press.(11) By 1891 City Press reporters covered various beats within designated territories of Cook County, including society events, city baseball games, city hall, county and federal buildings, army headquarters, courts, hotels, police stations, fires, strikes, suburban news, sports events and election returns. Technologically advanced, the City Press newsroom boasted the "best lighted newsroom in Chicago," after converting to incandescent lighting from gas, and in the late 1890s it installed 15 miles of solid brass and copper tubing into an underground railway system, connecting City Press and Associated Press to the County Building, Board of Trade and newspaper offices. Designed to speed direct delivery of news bulletins, avoid street traffic delays and reduce foot messenger service costs, the "news subway"--a vacuum pumped system of round-the-clock dispatches--continued to operate until 1961.(12) Between 1890 and 1892, three new dailies appeared and United Press created competition for Western Associated Press.(13)

In 1893, as Chicago prepared to play host at the World's Columbian Exposition, a fair designed to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of the New World, an economic panic and subsequent depression shook the country. In Illinois alone, "more than 16,000 firms went bankrupt including 50 companies each

with capital of a half-million dollars."(14) Many Chicago dailies quickly merged or went into receivership as newspapers scrambled to survive.(15) Some newspapers that had catered to specialized readers who patronized the most expensive advertisers changed their strategies to seek mass circulation. One historian observed, "the city's heyday as a newspaper town was over."(16)

Despite the adverse effects of the 1893 depression, by 1900 Chicago's newspapers had expanded.(17) Chicago's Associated Press, which had replaced the Western Associated Press, was challenged in a lawsuit and reorganized in 1900 in New York to become the basis for today's Associated Press.(18) While City Press Association became a local training ground for many journalists, trade journals and magazines also offered many job opportunities for reporters, editors and enterprising publishers.(19)

Foreign-Language Press

Another significant aspect of the Chicago publishing community was the flourishing foreign-language press. In 1900, many foreign-language dailies flourished, including four published in German, two in Bohemian and Yiddish, and one each in Norwegian and Polish.(20) Also, there were numerous weeklies published in Bohemian, Czech, Danish, German, Italian, Norweigan, Polish, Slovenian, Swedish and Yiddish.(21) The importance of such newspaper diversity in enabling immigrants to survive within the confines of an alien urban world was reflected in the University of Chicago professor Robert Park's landmark study of

the immigrant press, published in 1922.(22) Park said foreign-language papers gave immigrants the ability to read in their own language (a privilege not permitted in some homelands), manifested group solidarity, and allowed immigrants to know what was going on in order to survive. "News is a kind of urgent information that men use in making adjustments to a new environment, in changing old habits, and in forming new opinions," Park wrote.(23)

Chicago Journalists

According to contemporary accounts, the Chicago journalist was an urban creature. Most of the daily newspapers shared the same streets and covered similar beats from their offices in the Loop, the downtown business area ringed by cable car lines (later elevated train tracks), and located near the Chicago River, Lake Michigan and major railroad lines.(24) Downtown, or the Loop area, was the location for successful firms, retail stores and wholesaling houses. Banks, the Board of Trade, the Stock Exchange and the Federal Building, as well as elegant hotels and restaurants, created an urban heartbeat within walking distance of journalists working for the major Chicago papers.(25)

Family and Social Life

The organization of Chicago journalists into press clubs in the 1890s reflected a struggle for professional identity and provided a source of peer pressure. The major social centers for journalists, the Chicago Press Club, the Whitechapel Club, and a variety of saloons that served as informal gathering places,

provided meeting places near the Loop where journalists worked. Local press clubs originated as early as the 1860s.(26) The Press Club of Chicago, as it is still known today, was established in 1880 reportedly as a result of journalistic embarrassment that there was no decent place to take Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) for a drink after his speech at a banquet for former President Ulysses S. Grant.(27) After an initial meeting at a hotel with 16 journalists, 24 later joined and agreed that two rooms would be rented on Clark near Madison in the Loop.(28) In 1889, a group of newspaper writers formed the Whitechapel Club which "met informally in the back of Henry Koster's saloon in an alley near the News and the Herald."(29) Four years later, a Newspaper Club, headed by a man from the Tribune, was formed in the Boyce Building on Dearborn Street.(30) Designed exclusively for those engaged in daily newspaper work, the club foundered and soon merged with the Press Club, which had taken a 99-year lease on a lot on Michigan Avenue between Madison and Monroe with plans to build a permanent structure of its own.(31) The dreams of building a club headquarters were abandoned after the 1893 depression.

The two continuing press clubs represented a conflict between the journalist's self-image as a "bohemian" and his desire to be recognized as an integral part of mainstream Chicago. Katherine Lanpher suggested that the Press Club of Chicago aspired to elevate the profession and integrate journalists into the professional and social elite of the

community. The Whitechapel Club, on the other hand, was a setting for radical political discussions and a theater for satirical pranks.

Prominent editors and publishers such as Melville Stone, Victor Lawson, and Samuel and Joseph Medill belonged to the Press Club, but the "bohemian" reporters of the city also belonged. This rather formal club included a variety of kinds of individuals in its membership, but tailored its membership and its activities to be receptive to society as a whole. The Whitechapel Club, on the other hand, preserved its Bohemian status, claimed to be "intolerant of pretense," and served as a radical political forum for ideas that did not appear in Chicago newspapers. Reporters were the mainstay--publishers and editors were not allowed.

Lanpher suggested the two Chicago clubs served two functions. Although the Press Club of Chicago sought to convey the image of the reporter as a dignified and valued member of society who could easily assimilate into the complex of men's clubs, The Whitechapel Club pressed for recognition of the reporter as social critic. The clubs presented an image of the reporter that was both tangible to those outside the field and acceptable to the reporters themselves. Press clubs did not dissolve the constraints of working on a newspaper turned commercial institution, but they offered journalists a chance to bring about a kind of reconciliation between the constraints they struggled with and the expectations they nurtured.(32)

The creation of the press clubs reinforced the notion that newsmen usually were unmarried and devoted primarily to their jobs:

> Chicago newspaper men in the years from about 1840 to 1920 had very little social life outside of the newspaper world. They worked irregular hours, and were at call when they might be needed to cover a story . . . . The newspaper was a place to learn a craft, and, like dedicated masters and apprentices of earlier times, journalists allowed nothing to interfere with their work. In the early days of Chicago newspaper life, marriage if not condemned, was certainly considered as a great burden.(33)

The clubs served as a source of peer pressure, as well. "During the organization's life, many a newspaper story was written with as much an eye for its reception at the Whitechapel Club as at the city desk."(34)

Salaries and Wages

Although being an editor or publisher in the latter half of the nineteenth century signified involvement in a definite profession, being a reporter was more of "a way station on the highway to politics, business, literature or editorial work than a profession itself."(35) Despite the increased amount of news resulting from reporter-generated stories, reporters received low wages, often on space rates, were subject to erratic dismissals and gained little prestige from their work. Correspondents such as Richard Harding Davis and Jack London, who gained significant reputations as war correspondents, were exceptions rather than the rule. Such treatment propelled journalists to move into editorial capacities or to change professions altogether. In addition, the increased commercialization of the daily press

presented a conflict for those reporters who considered themselves to be social critics.

Although some reporters received salaries, more were confined to the space-rate system, which meant that reporters were paid only for the number of column inches printed. In 1884 the trade magazine The Journalist claimed New York reporters received from fifteen to twenty dollars per week. Outside New York, reporters received less. By 1900 experienced New York reporters received as much as $60 a week, although hundreds of writers earned only $20 a week. In smaller cities, $17 to $27 was the norm. Reporters' salaries compared more favorably to that of craftsmen such as compositors and plumbers than they did to professionals such as physicians or teachers. Edwin Shuman, writing in 1903, explained: "Newspaper writing, in the essential qualifications required, is a learned profession; but in its exact comparative insecurity it more nearly resembles a trade."(36)

Reporters engaged in various forms of moonlighting by writing advertisements, working as court stenographers or producing news and features for independent Sunday papers. It also was possible to supplement one's income by dropping names into stories, including product names in stories and by assisting politicians. Reporters on space rates also tended to "overwrite," hoping that by producing more inches they would be paid more.(37)

Historian Richard Hofstadter wrote that reporters'

salaries doubled between 1870 and 1890, but a Chicago scholar found at the turn of the century that "writing was the cheapest commodity purchased by newspaper publishers" and that $12 a week was a typical salary for a beginning reporter in the 1890s.(38) Other sources stated that "Brand Whitlock's $35 a week salary in 1892 on the Herald was 'top salary for reporters,'" although "nationally known reporters like (George) Ade could be retained for $65 per week."(39) Although census data did not reflect Chicago reporters' salaries, the average annual salary for an Illinois worker in the newspaper business was listed at $495.37, or about $9.50 per week.(40)

The early owners of the City Press bureau had a reputation for paying higher salaries to their reporters than local newspapers did. By 1890, the news bureau had a staff of 30, "which added up to a weekly salary toll of $516, including the manager's salary of $50 a week."(41)

Residence

Most city press reporters probably lived in the city. Many, who may have moved recently to Chicago or were single or without their families, lived in boardinghouses on the edge of the Loop.

> Transients, especially single males who could not afford the more splendid accommodations, had recourse to boarding houses in the section of the Loop extending from Van Buren to 12th Street, especially in the 1880s and 1890s. Typically, the first floors of such buildings were occupied by retailers of various kinds, including cut-rate stores, cheap restaurants, penny arcades, and later, nickle theatres. A number of these businesses engaged in some form of illegal activity and, by 1900, State and Wabash between Adams and 12th street was considered the heart of the Levee vice district.(42)

Thus, reporters in Chicago seemed to live a transient life, rather than being ensconced in middle-class life in urban or suburban Chicago.

Women

Myra Bradwell, editor of the Chicago Legal News, became the first female member of the Illinois Press Association.(43) When she died the Press Club passed a resolution honoring her as "the wife of Judge Bradwell, an ex-president of this club, and a journalist in her own right."(44) But she was more the exception than the rule. Women involved in Chicago journalism formed their own organization, the Illinois Women's Press Association, in the mid-1880s "to provide a means of communication between women writers and to secure all the benefits resulting from organized efforts."(45) In 1887, Mary Allen West, the IWPA president and editor of the Union Signal, announced that the group had "formed a part of the Chicago Protective Agency . . . through which every working woman, every unprotected girl in that great wicked city may feel that she has the sympathy and support of the combined womanhood of the city."(46) In an address before the Illinois Press Association, West appraised her group's effort to "fit women for better work in journalism:"(47)

> Seeing how much good you gentlemen seem to find in your Association, we thought we would follow your example, and see if we could not gain some of your wisdom. We cannot say we have grown very wise, but we do know more than we did a year ago. . .and we have learned to love each other so well that I don't believe one of "us editors" has said a hateful thing about another editor during the year. What stronger proof of our good comradeship can you ask?"(48)

Antoinette Wakeman, another IWPA member, observed that the field was more accessible to women than other professions, and noted that the "very fact that she (the woman journalist) has never been known to strike for higher wages would, when she is capable of doing the work required, gain for her favorable consideration with those in authority."(49) She asked rhetorically, "why, of the thousands who are employed in this kind of work in America, only two hundred are women?"(50) In the 1880s, many women's press groups were forming and West alluded to "the organization of societies kindred to our own in New England, in Washington, in North Carolina. . ."(51) A Women's International Press Association also was founded in 1885.

City Press Association had hired only two women for its news bureau before the turn of the century. Marion Heath, described as "bright, dependable, fairly competent and eminently faithful and industrious girl," was the first woman hired there.(52) Some time after 1894, she was joined by Katherine Leckie, a cousin of one of the owners, Archibald Leckie. He described her as

> brilliant, magnetic and a social thoroughbred. I tried to dissuade her from newspaper work, but as always she had her way and I sent her to the County building as a cub. Her success was amazing. She was a bundle of energy and turned up one story after another. She was seized by the American, then went to New York and soon established a publicity office in which she and a fine staff handled big stuff, mainly semi-society functions launched by women. She handled the Ford peace ship during the pre-war months. . . her only failure."(53)

METHOD

To examine quantitative materials that would support or refute qualitative information, data about the demographic

characteristics of Chicago journalists was compiled from the 1900 federal census manuscripts. The first effort to identify journalists who might be in the census manuscripts was by randomly selecting the names of members of the Chicago Press Club in 1895.(54) This method of identifying journalists first and then seeking them in the manuscripts was used in an earlier study of rural journalists, but it proved unsuccessful with this study. When the authors were able to find only five out of the first 28 names, this approach became prohibitive in terms of time, money and validity of the study.(55)

The second method was to order randomly the microfilm rolls on which the manuscripts are found. Then the rolls were examined for people who were listed as editors, reporters, journalists, publishers, newspaper writers, or any similar occupational description that would indicate individuals were working journalists. The possibility exists that the use of some of these terms as job descriptions may represent workers from a field other than the newspaper industry, such as book publishers and editors, or magazine reporters. But there is no reason to believe this type of bias would be systematic and influence the results more than any other possible source of sampling error.(56) Six rolls of microfilm yielded 136 names, which were combined with the five press club members to give a final sample of 141 Chicago journalists. Summary statistics of these data were compared with the results of the earlier study of rural editors and with statistics concerning journalists in the United States,

the general population in the United states and the general population in Chicago.(57) While census data do not provide all the information needed to validate reminiscences and press club histories, they do add some insights.

RESULTS

Of the 141 Chicago journalists found in the census manuscripts, 64 percent listed themselves as journalists, reporters, newspaper writers or newspapermen; 18 percent listed themselves as editors, 6 percent were listed as publishers, 2 percent were listed as newspaper managers, and 1 were listed as lawyers. The remaining 9 percent were classified as other, which included correspondents, news office clerks, newspaper business, newspaper work, and two editorial writers.(58) These categorical listings support the contention that by 1900 staff division of journalistic labor was beginning to emerge.

Table 1 presents a summary of some of the family demographics. The average age was 36.8. Only 43.3 percent of the journalists were married, widowed or divorced. Those who were married (61), had spouses with an average age of 36.5. The average number of living children for all journalists in the sample was .51, and the average number of dead children for all journalists was .09. The large standard deviations reported in Table 1 reflect the great amount of variance among journalists in this sample. While most of them tended to be relatively young, there were enough older journalists (the oldest was 66) to result in a large range of ages. The same can be said of most of the

demographics in Table 1.(59)

Table 1 also provides comparisons of Chicago journalists other individuals. The results in Table 1 indicate Chicago journalists, compared to a corresponding sample of rural journalists from 21 states, generally were younger and more often single than rural journalists. Married Chicago journalists had been married fewer years, had fewer children (living and dead), and had fewer family members in the newspaper business than did rural journalists.(60) In some cases it is impossible to draw solid comparative conclusions about the populations of Chicago and rural journalists because of the large standard deviations both have. We can say there is a 99 percent chance that the difference in ages of the samples of Chicago and rural journalists exists in the populations from which these samples were taken. The same probability exists that the difference in the number of family members found in the samples exist in the two larger groups.(61)

Table 2 presents additional information about the sample of Chicago journalists. Of the 141 journalists, 93.6 percent were male, .7 percent (one journalist) were black, and 21.3 percent were born in a country other than the United States. Of those born in another country, more than half had become naturalized citizens, which was 12.1 percent of the sample. The apparent low salaries of Chicago journalists is reinforced by statistics on home ownership. Only 7.8 owned the house they lived in, and most of these had a mortgage. However, 9.2 percent did employee

servants in their homes. The journalists did appear to be somewhat mobile with only 15.6 percent born in Illinois. Most had moved at least once to get to Chicago.

Table 2 compares Chicago journalists not only with rural journalists of 1900, but also with the population of the United States, Chicago and United States journalists. Based on the sampling errors for the Chicago and rural journalists, we can say the Chicago journalists were less likely to own homes than the rural journalists, the U.S. population in general, and the general population of Chicago. Chicago journalists were more likely to be male than was a member of the U.S. and Chicago populations. While the sample of Chicago journalists had more females than the sample of rural journalists, it had a smaller percentage than did the total of U.S. journalists and the U.S. population. The sample of Chicago journalists had a percentage of black journalists equal to that of all U.S. journalists.

The sample of Chicago journalists had more foreign born members than did the sample of rural journalists, the population of U.S. journalists and the U.S. population, but fewer than did the population of Chicago. We are 95 percent certain that the difference between the Chicago and rural editors existed in the populations, but the other differences could be due to sampling error. The percentages of Chicago and rural journalists indicate that we can be 95 percent certain that the Chicago journalists were more likely to come from outside the state in which the newspapers they worked for were located than were rural editors.

This statistic probably is related to the preponderance of foreign-language journalism in Chicago, which served a large, ethnically diverse population.

In order to determine the nature of the neighborhoods journalists lived in, occupations for their neighbors were coded into several categories. Of the 236 neighbors who had occupations listed, 16.1 percent were craftsmen, 13.1 percent were professionals, 7.2 percent were laborers, 3.8 percent were in journalism, and 3.0 percent were government workers.(62) The remaining 56.8 percent worked in service-oriented occupations, such as retail, clerking, boarding house management, sales, and real estate. The implication is that journalists tended not to live among industrial workers. Most of the neighbors were not involved in industry, unless it was as managers, but were more likely to have skills, work in the service sector, or be professional. This is consistent with the census listing of journalists as professionals, but calls into question some assumptions about whether journalists lived in middle-class neighborhoods.(63)

CONCLUSION

Overall, the analysis of census manuscripts for urban journalists in Chicago indicate they were relatively young and less established in terms of family, children and property when compared to their rural counterparts. They were more likely to be women and black than the rural journalists, but it was still an industry dominated by white males. There was enough variation

within the journalist population to support the varied goals of both the Press Club of Chicago and the Whitechapel Club, as well as the emergence of professional womens' groups. Certainly black or women journalists seemed to be more apparent within the urban environment. Census data also supports the claim that salaries and wages were low.

Chicago journalists in 1900 were more likely to be foreign born than rural journalists and the U.S. population, but this tendency probably reflected a greater likelihood for people in Chicago to be foreign than for members of the U.S. population, as well as the large ethnic newspaper industry there.

The increased mobility of this sample of Chicago journalists when compared to the sample of rural journalists may well reflect the rapidly growing opportunity for journalists in Chicago. Census data indicate that the number of daily newspapers in Chicago increased from 27 in 1890 to 37 in 1900, with a corresponding increase in circulation from 644,000 to 1,099,555.(64)

Although comparisons can be made between samples of urban and rural journalists, the great amount of variance among people in this field will require much larger samples to allow accurate comparisons of populations in some of these demographic areas. Of course, the evidence of such variance suggests that journalism at the end of the nineteenth century was a field that attracted people with a variety of demographic characteristics, although the predominant characteristics still remained. Journalists were

predominantly white and male.

TABLE 1

Comparison of 1900 Chicago Journalists' Family Characteristics with 1900 Rural Journalists' Family Characteristics

Characteristics	Chicago Journalists			Rural Journalists		
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Age	140	36.80	11.5	188	42.3	11.8
Spouse's Age	53	36.45	11.9	155	37.9	11.2
Years Married	61	13.01	11.2	159	15.9	10.5
Number of Children Living	138	.51	1.0	177	2.6	2.5
Number of Children Dead	133	.18	.6	176	.4	.8
Number of Family in Newspaper Business	141	.09	.3	188	.3	.6

Source: The data came from 1900 census tract manuscripts.

TABLE 2

Comparison of Chicago Journalists with Rural Journalist

and with General Population, in Percentages

Characteristic	Chicago Journalists	Rural Journalists	U. S. Journalists	U. S. Population	Chicago Population
Occupied homes owned by occupants	7.8	61.9	--	64.4	25.1
Owned homes mortgaged	5.7	37.4	--	32.0	13.2
Male	93.6	97.9	92.7	51.1	50.8
Born in foreign country	21.3	4.8	14.9	13.6	34.6
Naturalized citizens	12.1	3.7	--	13.5[a]	--
Married or had been married at one time	43.3	90.9	66.1	85.8[b]	39.7[c]
Homes with servants	9.2	10.1	--	--	--
Black journalists	.7	.0	.7	11.60	1.8
Born in same state as currently working	15.6	39.9	--	--	--

Note: The sample of Chicago journalist was 94. The sample of rural editors and journalists was 188.
The percentages represent the populations within plus or minus 10.4 percent for Chicago journalists and plus or minus 7.4 percent for the rural editors with 95 percent confidence.

[a]This refers to the population 21 years or older.
[b]This percentage is for age group 35 to 44.
[c]This represents the percentage of the 863,408 men in Chicago who were married, divorced or widowed in 1900.

Sources: Figures for the Chicago and rural editors came from census tract manuscripts. Figures for the U.S. and Chicago populations came from Abstract of the 12th Census of the United States 1900 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Office, 1902). Figures for U.S. journalists came from Manufactures: Special Report on Selected Industries, Part III, Census Reports, Vol. IX (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Census Office, 1902).

ENDNOTES

1. Carl Smith, Chicago and the American Literary Imagination, 1880-1920 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), x.

2. Smith, American Literary Imagination, x.

3. The Erie Canal, opened in 1825 between the Hudson River and Lake Erie, provided a link between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic. The Illinois and Michigan Canal in 1848 linked Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River. See Kenan Heise and Michael Edgerton, Chicago: Center for Enterprise (Woodland Hills, Cal.: Windson Publications, 1982), p. 85, and Sheila Gribben, "How City Became Printing Capital of U.S.," Crain's Chicago Business (Nov. 28, 1983), p. 16.

4. Based on newspapers listed in Winifred Gregory, ed., American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada (New York: Bibliographic Society of America, 1937; reprinted in New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1967), pp. 119-125. This source probably underestimates the number of dailies actually started in Chicago. Those newspapers without extant files would not be included in Gregory's listing. U.S. census data indicated there were 10 morning and 8 evening dailies in Chicago in 1880, with a total circulation of 220,577. By 1890 there were 14 morning and 13 evening dailies with a total circulation of 644,000. See Manufactures: Special Reports on Selected Industries, Part III, Census Reports, Vol. IX, 12th Census of the United States (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Office, 1902.)

5. Chicago's first newspaper, the Chicago Democrat, was printed on Nov. 26, 1833. the six-column, four-page weekly was published by a 25-year-old Oswego, N.Y. printer and editor, John Calhoun. He set up shop at what is now Clark and Wacker (just north of the Loop) with a press and type he brought with him by boat. Thomas O. Davis, a Henry Clay supporter, established the Chicago American in 1835 as a pro-Whig party paper to counter the Jacksonian bent of its rival. In 1839, it changed hands and became the city's first daily under publisher and lawyer William Stuart. Calhoun later turned his paper over to Chicago's first Republican mayor, "Long John" Wentworth, who made it a daily in 1840. John J. McPhaul, Deadlines and Monkeyshines: The Fabled World of Chicago Journalism (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), pp. 19-23.

6. Illinois Newspaper Directory: History of the Illinois Press Association (Champaign-Urbana, Ill.: Illinois Press Association, 1934), pp. 10, 11, 51, 52.

7. Illinois Newspaper Directory, p. 11,12.

8. Illinois Newspaper Directory, p. 11, and A.A. Dornfeld, Behind the Front Page: The Story of the City News Bureau of Chicago (Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1983), p. 11.

9. American Newspapers, pp. 119-125, and Behind the Front Page, p. 1.

10. American Newspapers, pp. 119-125. For detailed analysis of contents of major Chicago newspapers see David Paul Nord, "The Public Community: The Urbanization of Journalism in Chicago," Journal of Urban History (August, 1985) 11:4, pp. 411-441. See also Nord, Newspapers and New Politics: Midwestern Municipal Reform, 1890-1900 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1981).

11. Behind the Front Page, p. 48.

12. Behind the Front Page, pp. 6, 48, 50, 57, 59. See also Harold M. Mayer and Richard C. Wade, Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973) pp. 176-177.

13. American Newspapers, pp. 119-125 and Behind the Front Page, p. 48.

14. Chicago: Center for Enterprise, p. 171.

15. Behind the Front Page, p. 63. "The Globe went into receivership. . .Walsh sold the Herald and the Post to Kohlsaat who had earlier taken over the Inter-Ocean. . . . Scott had bought the Times and merged it with the Herald to form the Times-Herald. . . Morning News became the Record." Robert Cromie, A Short History of Chicago (San Francisco: Lexikos, 1984), on p. 109 notes that the sons of slain Chicago mayor Carter H. Harrison Jr. had "first tried vainly to put the Chicago Times (purchased by their father in 1891 for an overpriced $265,000) on a sound financial footing. Just within sight of a break-even point, they were forced to sell in 1895 at a distress figure."

16. Chicago: Center for Enterprise, p. 185; Behind the Front Page, p. 63.

17. American Newspapers, pp. 119-125. Prominent dailies in 1900 included the Chicago Tribune, Chicago Chronicle, Chicago Daily News, Chicago Journal, Chicago Record, Chicago Evening Post, Chicago Times Herald and the Inter Ocean, plus a new entry by William Randolph Hearst, the Chicago American. He soon followed this with a morning edition, the Chicago Examiner. Census data notes that in 1900 Chicago had 37 dailies--16 morning and 21 evening papers. Although the number of newspapers continued the expand, the rate of growth slowed slightly. See Manufactures, 1902.

18. Behind the Front Page, pp. 72-73. "Victor Lawson started the Western Associated Press in competition with Associated Press of new York. the Inter-Ocean had been bought by Yerkes (the man who controlled Chicago streetcars) and he had hired a man from the New York Sun which was run by Charles Dana, who opposed Chicago's AP. In 1900, the paper sued AP, claiming it was banned from using the news service because it subscribed to the Laffin Service, another wire. The state supreme court ruled in favor of the paper declaring AP was a public utility chartered to build telephone and telegraph lines. So Lawson organized a new AP in New York as a New York corporation and the old AP ceased at the end of 1900."

19. Behind the Front Page, pp. 48, 65. City News saw itself as a "training school for cub reporters. . . firing by the City News was considered a recommendation by most city editors." N.W. Ayer and Son's American Newspaper Annual (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son, 1899), 134-147 lists various publications showing the variety of specialized publications that contributed to the city's overall publishing industry. These specialized publications also conveyed the convergence and co-existence of rural and urban concerns in Chicago, i.e. American Barber and American Bee Journal, Ice and Refrigeration, Ink Fiend, Wool Markets and Sheep and Young Crusader. According to Chicago: Center for Enterprise, p. 85, there already were some 30 literary journals with children's magazines and other specialized publications by 1860. Faster presses and good railroad distribution helped spur the growth of publications well past the turn of the century.

20. American Newspapers, pp. 1190125.

21. American Newspapers, pp. 119-125.

22. Robert E. Park, the Immigrant Press and Its Control (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1922).

23. Park, The Immigrant Press, p. 9.

24. Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis, p. 33, identifies a "newspaper row" as early as 1851. Although exact dates aren't given, Behind the Front Page, p. 29, lists the locations of nineteenth century Chicago newspapers: Times--NW corner of Washington and Fifth (now Wells), Herald--Washington, 1/2 block west of LaSalle; Inter Ocean--NW corner of Madison and Dearborn; Tribune--diagonally across the street on SE corner of Madison and Dearborn; Journal--1/2 block south of Tribune, Mail--West side of Fifth (Wells), 1/2 block south of Times; Dispatch--"shabby building" next to Mail; Staats Zeitung--NE corner of Washington and Fifth (Wells); and Chicago Daily News--between Washington and Madison, south of alley on east side of Fifth (Wells). City News itself started out on Washington and LaSalle but moved to 162

West Washington, later 110 S. LaSalle, and moved to the Phoenix Building, 111 West Jackson Blvd., where its famous Underground News Railroad began service in the 1890s.

25. Chicago: Center for Enterprise, p. 146; Glen E. Holt and Dominic A. Pacyga, Chicago: A Historical Guide to the Neighborhoods: The Loop and South Side (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1979), p. 8, 17.

26. Deadlines and Monkeyshines, p. 150, notes that "old-timers were not consistent men even with their press clubs. The first such club, formed in 1865, faded after a year because of too many bar I.O.U.'s and inability to pay rent. Similar short runs were experienced by a club in 1867 and in 1872." Fremont O. Bennett, History of the Press Club of Chicago from January 1880 to September 1888 (Chicago: H.O. Shepard & Co., 1888), 4 notes that "W.K. Sullivan, of the Journal, had been a leading spirit" of a previous press club that last met at the Briggs House, Dec. 23, 1872.

27. Deadlines and Monkeyshines, p. 150, offers the informal history while the club's published history about the event, Bennett, History of the Press Club, 3, records that "while festivity and flow of soul held joyous sway, he (Clemens) turned to Franc B. Wilke, of the Times, and Mr. Melville Stone, of the News, and asked "Why is it the journalists of Chicago do not have an organization similar to the New York Press Club?" The journalists supposedly responded that previous attempts had failed but that they would endeavor to interest the news community in such a plan.

28. Bennett, History of the Press Club, p. 4.

29. Perry Duis, Chicago: Creating New Traditions (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1976), p. 17.

30. William H. Freeman, The Press Club of Chicago: A History (Chicago: Press Club of Chicago, 1894), p. 163.

31. Freeman, Press Club of Chicago, p. 120, 163.

32. Katherine Lanpher, "THE BOYS AT THE CLUB: An Examination of Press Clubs as an Aspect of the Occupational Culture of the Late 19th Century Journalist," Paper presented to the History Division at the Association for Education in Journalism Annual Convention in Athens, Ohio, July 1982, p. 14.

33. Hugh Dalziel Duncan, The Rise of Chicago as a Literary Center from 1885 to 1920: A Sociological Essay in American Culture (Totowa, N.J. The Bedminster Press, 1964), 114, 169.

34. Ellis, Mr. Dooley's America, p. 51.

35. Ted Curtis Smythe, "The Reporter, 1880-1900: Working Conditions and Their Influence on the News," Journalism History (Spring, 1980) 7:1, p. 8.

36. Edwin Shuman, Practical Journalism: A Complete Manual of the Best Newspaper Methods (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1903), p. 25, cited in Smythe, "The Reporter, 1880-1900," p. 2.

37. Smythe, "The Reporter, 1880-1900," pp. 6-7.

38. Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R. (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), p. 191. Also see Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History: 1690-1930, 3rd ed. (New York: MacMillan Co., 1962). Mott claimed salaries doubled between the Civil War and the turn of the century, with city editors earning $3,000 to $5,000 a year. Only the most talented reporters in the cities earned as much as city editors. Mott noted that $15 and $25-a-week reporters were common. See also Duncan, The Rise of Chicago, pp. 115, 148.

39. Ellis, Mr. Dooley's America, p. 101; Duncan, The Rise of chicago, p. 148.

40. See Manufactures, 1902.

41. Dornfeld, Behind the Front Page, p. 13.

42. Holt and Pacyga, Chicago: A Historical Guide, p. 18.

43. Illinois Newspaper Directory, p. 129.

44. Freedman, Press Club of Chicago, p. 157.

45. Illinois Newspaper Directory, p. 66.

46. Illinois Newspaper Directory, p. 81.

47. Illinois Newspaper Directory, p. 79.

48. Illinois Newspaper Directory, p. 83.

49. Illinois Newspaper Directory, p. 83.

50. Illinois Newspaper Directory, p. 83.

51. Illinois Newspaper Directory, p. 81.

52. Dornfeld, Behind the Front Page, p. 188.

53. Dornfeld, Behind the Front Page, pp. 187-188.

54. A list of members was found in William H. Freeman, The Press Club of Chicago: A History with Sketches of Other Prominent Press Clubs of the United States (Chicago: The Press Club of Chicago, 1984).

55. Jean Folkerts and Stephen Lacy, "Weekly Editors in 1900: A Quantitative Study of Demographic Characteristics," Journalism Quarterly (Summer-Autumn, 1987) 64:2 and 3, pp. 429-433. The authors used the Soundex system for locating journalists on the manuscript rolls. Since most of the Chicago Press Club members were listed by initials, this process involved checking dozens of census entries for each journalist's name. This problem, combined with the time lag between the 1894 press club list and the 1900 census, made the original approach extremely difficult.

56. In order for the inclusion of non-newspaper journalists to have a significant impact on this sample, the population of non-newspaper journalists would have to be very different from the population of newspaper journalists and would have to make up a fairly large proportion of this sample. Since newspapers were the dominant form of journalism in Chicago in 1900, it seems highly unlikely that this possible bias significantly affected the responses here.

57. The data about the general population came from Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Part I & II (Washington D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1975) and Twelfth Census of the United States: Vital Statistics, Part I, Vol. III (Washington D.C.:U.S. Department of Interior, 1902). Data about the Chicago population came from Abstract of the 12th Census of the United States: Vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Office, 1902). Data about U.S. journalists came from Manufactures: Special report on Selected Industries, Part III, Census Reports, Vol. IX, 12th Census of the United States (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Office, 1902).

58. The two lawyers were members of the Chicago Press Club and reflect the tendency of some journalists to have more than one occupation. This finding was consistent with a study of rural journalists, which included lawyers and postmasters. See Folkerts and Lacy, "Weekly Characteristics."

59. This was the case in the earlier study of rural journalists. It reflects the relative heterogeneous nature of journalists. The standard deviation can be reduced by collecting information from a much larger sample.

60. The sample of rural journalists was taken from Folkerts and Lacy, "Weekly Editors."

61. These findings are based on t-tests comparing the two samples. A t-test will assign a probability that the difference in the means of two samples is due to the difference in the populations from which the groups were drawn. The t value for age was 4.13 with 326 degrees of freedom. The t value for number of family in the newspaper business was 4.09 with 327 degrees of freedom. See Derek Browntree, Statistics Without Tears: A Primer for Non-Mathematicians (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981.)

62. The craftsman classification included such jobs as printer, watchmaker, photographer, machinist and tailor. The professional classification included such jobs as engineer, lawyer, doctor, teacher and banker. The government worker classification included such jobs as postal worker and policeman. The journalism classification included such jobs as journalist, reporter, editor, publisher and printer.

63. The manufacturing census reports listed journalists as professional. See Manufactures: Special Report on Selected Industries, op. cit.

64. Manufactures, 1902.